

Remarks by
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Ladies and gentlemen:

It is indeed a great honor and a pleasure to be with you here this evening.

Far be it from me to display before this gathering of seasoned military veterans something as boring as organizational charts or schematic diagrams about the workings of intelligence.

Instead, I'd like to talk to you about what intelligence really is, why America must continue to have an intelligence service second to none in the world, and what the role of that service is in government.

Like most of you here, I have served in uniform -- in World War II and the Korean conflict. But I'm not here because I'm an old hand as a Naval officer; I'm here because I'm an old hand in the intelligence business.

When the President recently nominated me to be the Deputy Director of the Central Intelligence Agency, I had served in that Agency for 23 years.

Most of my service has been with intelligence analysis rather than with the operational side -- or the clandestine side, if you will. As an assistant to Director Colby I gained valuable insight into the Agency's relationships with our Congress, since that duty linked me to the various inquiries into CIA last year.

In another recent assignment, I served as Director Bush's

Associate Deputy for the Intelligence Community, helping to coordinate the government's intelligence components, including the military, the State Department and the CIA.

So, I come to you tonight not only as an enthusiastic intelligence officer, but also as one who has had the advantage of seeing the many different aspects of the business.

Ever since the earliest days of recorded history, societies have survived by more than just armed might -- they have survived by knowledge. The Bible says: "...the Lord spoke unto Moses saying, send thou men that they may search the land of Canaan... (to) see the land, what it is, and the people that dwelleth therein; whether they be strong or weak, few or many...."

Joshua later sent two men to spy secretly in Jericho. They spent their while in the house of Rahab the harlot. In the best tradition, Rahab protected the spies, misled the King of Jericho as to their whereabouts, and allowed them to complete their mission without ever once revealing their names. (Some say this story, told so well in Joshua 2, shows that intelligence is the world's second oldest profession.)

In the world of today -- and in that of tomorrow -- our country cannot afford to be blind or deaf to the preparations of potential enemies. Our government needs solid facts and judgements on which to base its policies and plans if it is to remain strong and free. And make no mistake about it: every nation on this planet, whether strong or not, whether free or not, uses intelligence information to improve its position.

What is intelligence, then?

Is it just a collection of facts? Is it a single report from some mysterious secret agent in some foreign land? Is it one brilliant dispatch from one of our diplomats abroad? Is it a fact from an encyclopedia or a pearl of information pried from an old book in the Library of Congress?

Actually, any or all of these may be part of intelligence.

But I have left out a major part, one that is far less glamorous than what most people think of when they hear the word "intelligence" or the abbreviation "CIA."

That unsung part is the evaluation or analysis -- by studious and informed people -- of a great many pieces of information. The CIA analyst gathers as many of these facts as he can find, he adds a healthy dash of his own wisdom and, yes, imagination, and he turns out what we call intelligence judgements or assessments. These are produced objectively without fear or favor. We call them as we see them, regardless of whether or not our political leaders will consider the judgements to be good news or bad.

The United States has carried on foreign intelligence activities since the days of George Washington. During the Revolutionary War, in a letter to one of his intelligence officers, Colonel Elias Dayton, Washington wrote on July 26, 1777: 'The necessity of procuring good intelligence is apparent and need not be further urged. All that

remains for me to add is that you keep the whole matter as secret as possible. For upon secrecy, success depends in most enterprises of the kind, and, for want of it, they are generally defeated."

It was Pearl Harbor that dramatically focused American attention on the need for a unified national intelligence service capable of putting together facts, analyzing them, and disseminating the findings to those empowered to take actions. Before the Second World War, the United States had what could be called departmental intelligence. The War Department had military intelligence, the Navy Department had naval intelligence, and the Department of State produced, in effect, diplomatic intelligence.

But, in today's terminology, no one was "getting it together." All of the information that might have led an analyst to conclude that the Japanese intended to attack Pearl Harbor was available in Washington. But it was not in one place for an analyst to study; it was instead in bits and pieces all over town, separate fragments carefully controlled by each department. Without being fused together, the fragments were useless. It was information, not intelligence.

After the War, it was clear that the United States was going to continue to need information and intelligence on developments abroad and that a central organization was needed to ensure that we were never again caught by surprise as at Pearl Harbor. Many of you in this audience can remember those days and how deep was America's commitment never to be surprised again.

And so, to create a centralized intelligence facility and a unified military department, President Truman signed into law the National Security Act of 1947 creating CIA and the Department of Defense.

Years later, in 1964, I had occasion to visit President Truman in his offices not too far from here, in Independence, Missouri. He reminisced about his role in establishing CIA, and in his inimitable manner he told me: "The State Department and the military services separately had bits of information I couldn't get my hands on, and I needed an agency that could put the pieces together and tell me what was going on. So, I set up the CIA. It was that simple."

All of you, I am sure, are aware of the battering our Agency has taken in the last 18 months. We have been charged with nearly every offense imaginable, from "massive" domestic spying to being unable to warn our nation of impending attack.

(If you can imagine it, some individuals even made headlines by claiming first-hand knowledge that the CIA once captured three beings from outer space who had come on a peaceful mission. The charge was that we put them in a freezer to make them talk -- and they died instead. Another claim was that we had found and pilfered the remains of Noah's ark and that the artifacts are somewhere in the basement of our headquarters in the Virginia countryside to this day.)

Yes, all too often only the accusations and the allegations make the headlines. The denial and the truth of the matter never seem to be heard. After all, someone's claim that we captured three beings from outer space or that we found Noah's ark may make a good story. But how many readers would be fascinated by the fact that we did neither. It's something like a report that the Second National Bank was not robbed today.

I hope that the American people never come to believe unfounded allegations simply because they have appeared in print or because they have been repeated so often. That sort of technique works in closed societies. We must not allow it to work here.

I may be biased -- being a long-time CIA professional. But I want you good people to know and share my pride in the men and women of CIA who -- throughout the battering -- never flagged in their dedication and professionalism. The President and his advisors continued to be well-served by CIA information and judgements pertaining to the international scene.

Sure, it was not pleasant as a CIA officer to sit before the family television or at the breakfast table with the morning paper -- seeing one's children troubled by charges implying that their father or mother somehow was perhaps less than an upstanding American, or worse, making a living in some thoroughly disreputable business.

But there is mettle and back-bone to these people and their families. And I can tell you tonight that our professionalism, our dedication, our fortitude has not been diminished by the ordeal.

Total secrecy and silence -- these used to be the traditions of intelligence work. A year or so ago, I would not have been here giving a speech like this. But traditions change, and today we in intelligence are trying to make sure that the American people understand the intelligence profession and its vital role in ensuring our nation's security.

Many responsible people have said that the old ways of secrecy were used to cover abuses. Let me make this statement loud and clear: we do not condone abuses. We will not call upon secrecy to hide failures or wrongs in our past. As a matter of fact, it was we in CIA who uncovered the questionable activities of the past. And corrections were made internally three years ago -- long before the investigations got under-way.

More recently, the President and Director Bush have issued new and clear guidelines for intelligence activities. I want you to know that CIA is a disciplined, loyal and responsive Agency and those guidelines will be honored.

Meanwhile, the Senate Select Committee on Intelligence has finished its work and issued its recommendations. Some say that the Senate and House reviews of intelligence imparted to the world more information about American intelligence techniques than is healthy or helpful.

But I am not here to criticize or complain. CIA is almost 30 years of age. Any organization needs a special look and some reforms after such a length of time. In the main, the Congressional reviews have reflected the American process at work, and we in CIA will no doubt be the better for it.

America's intelligence service must be responsible. But America's treatment of that service and its necessary secrets must also be responsible. Senseless exposure of true intelligence secrets can cause great damage.

It is time for you as Americans to ask yourselves whether it is in your interests -- America's interests -- to expose intelligence secrets and activities that are valid, yes -- even critically important -- and that have nothing to do with "abuses."

Let me explain why secrecy is so important in intelligence work. To get information about the state of the world abroad, we rely heavily on open, unclassified information -- newspapers, magazines, technical journals, books, radio and television broadcasts and the like. But this doesn't give us all we need to know about foreign capabilities and intentions. We must use clandestine means to try to collect foreign secrets. And we rely increasingly on advanced technology to help us acquire information.

In the intelligence profession and in the law, these are known as intelligence sources and methods. If our sources and methods are revealed, our adversaries can take steps to keep us from getting the

information we need. This has nothing to do with keeping the American public in the dark, a charge made by some of our critics. It is a simple matter of protecting our ability to get information. This is a responsibility recognized in law. The Director of Central Intelligence, by federal statute, is charged with protecting intelligence sources and methods from disclosure.

True, the revelation of intelligence secrets makes exciting reading. A few readers may ask themselves what the point of such a disclosure could be -- aside from providing a few minutes worth of interesting reading over the morning cup of coffee. But most readers will soon forget what the story was all about. Will our adversaries forget? I assure you that they will not. As a result, enormously complex and expensive technical intelligence collection systems can be countered. Dedicated and courageous men and women who risk their lives in the service of their country seeking vital information abroad can be exposed and destroyed.

I don't think the American people want this to happen: especially when our adversaries, dedicated to the proposition that we eventually must be defeated, are hard at work.

I find some of the charges against the intelligence community particularly upsetting. You have heard a lot about "intelligence failures." You have been told that the American taxpayer is not getting his money's worth for his intelligence dollar. You have been told that American intelligence cannot warn of imminent attack.

That just plain isn't true.

America has good intelligence. America is safe from sneak attack. The American taxpayer is getting a bargain for his intelligence buck. And the American intelligence record is studded with success after success.

Let me give you just a few examples:

-- American intelligence spotted the Soviet nuclear missiles being delivered to Cuba in 1962 and supported the President as he worked through 13 nightmarish days to force their removal.

-- American intelligence gave seven years warning on the development of the Moscow anti-ballistic missile system.

-- American intelligence has pinpointed eight new types of Soviet inter-continental ballistic missiles and judged their size and effectiveness three or more years before each became operational.

-- Two major new Soviet submarine programs were anticipated well before the first boats slid down the ways.

-- We knew the status and design of two Soviet aircraft carriers well before the first one put to sea for trials.

-- American intelligence has created a collection and analytical capability sufficient to reduce the need for on-site verification for certain kinds of strategic arms control agreements that have been concluded with the USSR. The ABM Treaty and the interim agreement on offensive weapons of 1972 would have been impossible without intelligence of this kind.

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These are all military concerns, and they are crucial. But what of other intelligence areas?

-- American intelligence last year warned of the imminent danger of war between two nations friendly to the U. S. That warning triggered urgent, quiet, and successful diplomatic efforts to head off the hostilities.

-- American intelligence successfully monitors and predicts trends in oil prices and tracks the flow of petro dollars, subjects that affect your pocketbook and your everyday life.

-- Every year we turn to the task of assessing world crop prospects. That has to do with famine and the world food problem and with the price of the market basket we all must buy.

I hope that these illustrations help you understand our job just a bit better. Many years ago, Allen Dulles, one of the early Directors of CIA, spoke of the "craft" of intelligence. He underplayed it. The bold technical thinkers; the brave people on hazardous duty in strange lands; the gifted analysts puzzling out mysterious political and military moves made by unpredictable people in far-off, closed societies: these are more than craftsmen.

Intelligence is more than a craft. It is more than a science; more than mere artfulness. We do not have a crystal ball, and we can't yet give you a copy of the 1980 World Almanac. And we may not predict the given day and hour of a particular coup or revolution -- any more than

your local weatherman can assure you that it will start raining at precisely 9:01 tomorrow morning.

But precise predictions are not the main mission of intelligence. Our main job is to give this country's leaders the deepest possible understanding of the military, political, social, and economic climate abroad where vital American interests are at stake.

Our mission is to see that our leaders know what is happening in the world beyond our borders and about the forces and factors at work there. And we must alert our leaders to what may happen tomorrow. This combination of informing and alerting is what intelligence is really all about.

Ladies and gentlemen, we do it well.

And we must continue to do it well. We must know and understand the problems that lie ahead, so that we can give sound advice to those whose job it is to develop intelligent policies to deal with them.

If you will, consider some of the toughest problems America faces in the world around us:

- Overpopulation and underproduction;
- Nuclear proliferation;
- Extremism and terrorism;
- The economic imbalances between rich and poor countries;
- The exploitation of hitherto inaccessible riches in the sea

or in space;

-- The interdependence of economies and cultures;
-- The acceleration of events by incredible improvements in transportation and communications.

America must have systematic knowledge of these complex subjects, full awareness of all our capabilities to deal with them, and an understanding of the intentions of other nations on the scene.

Already, the intelligence machinery is good enough to assist in the crucial task of peace-keeping. In more than one hot-spot uneasy peace settlements are being kept because American intelligence is keeping each side informed about what it faces on the other side.

I have tried to describe to you tonight what intelligence must do in the days ahead. To do our job well, we must have the understanding and support of the American people. We are -- all of us -- committed to the same goal: making sure that America in the Tricentennial continues to be free, democratic, and dedicated to preserving the peace.

We have every confidence this will be so. We will do our share.

Let me conclude with the words of an ancient wiseman -- General Sun Tzu, who was a supreme military strategist in China long before Christ was born.

Sun Tzu wrote:

'For to win 100 victories in 100 battles is not the acme of skill. To find security without fighting is the acme of skill.'

'And therefore the unit that in advancing does not seek

mere fame, and in withdrawing is not concerned with avoiding blame, but whose only purpose is to protect the people and promote the best interests of the country, is the precious jewel of the State."

May the Central Intelligence Agency so conduct itself as to be just such a jewel of the state.

Thank you for allowing me to be with you tonight.